DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 213 659 SP 019 491

AUTHOR Witty, Elaine P.
TITLE Prospects for Black Teachers: Preparation, Certification, Employment. Information Analysis Products.
INSTITUTION ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Feb 82
CONTRACT 400-78-0017
NOTE 40p.
AVAILABLE FROM ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education, One Dupont Circle, Suite 610, Washington, DC 20036 ($1.00).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Beginning Teachers; Black Achievement; Black Colleges; *Black Education; *Black Teachers; Change Strategies; Educational Quality; *Educational Research; Elementary Secondary Education; Equal Education; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Higher Education; Minimum Competency Testing; Schools of Education; *Teacher Certification; *Teacher Education; *Teacher Employment; Teacher Integration; Teacher Persistence; Teacher Qualifications

ABSTRACT

A survey of the literature on the issues and problems related to the preparation and survival of black public school teachers in the United States resulted in findings and recommendations in five areas. The first area considers literature on the underrepresentation of black teachers in public schools, studies on pupil/teacher ratios, expanded employment activities, declining enrollment and seniority systems, the declining quality of education, and minimum competency testing. Research literature in the second area is on the selection and preparation of black prospective teachers, the role of historically black colleges and universities, standardized testing for admission to schools of education, and special curriculum needs of black teachers. The third area of literature addressed the problems imposed on black beginning teachers, including initial certification and the National Teacher Examination, employment inequities, and special demands of schools and communities on black teachers. The effects of research on black teachers and the need for a black perspective in educational research are the topics of the fourth area of literature. In a final section, 36 recommendations aimed at traditionally black colleges and universities, based on the readings cited in the literature survey, are presented. A list of 134 references on the topic of black teacher preparation, certification, and employment is appended. (FG)

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PREPARATION, CERTIFICATION, EMPLOYMENT

by Elaine P. Witty

SP 019 471

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PROSPECTS FOR BLACK TEACHERS:

PREPARATION, CERTIFICATION, EMPLOYMENT

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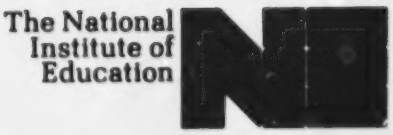
February 1982 Clearinghouse No. SP 019 491



The ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education is funded by the National Institute of Education. The material in this publication was prepared pursuant to contract no. 400-78-0017 with the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Education. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgments in professional and technical matters. Prior to publication, the manuscript was submitted to external referees for critical review and determination of professional competence. This publication has met such standards. However, points of view or opinions do not necessarily represent the official views or opinions of the Clearinghouse or the National Institute of Education.

Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Catalog Card No.: 82-70792

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FOREWORD

On reading the first draft of this monograph, one reviewer penciled in the word "dim" next to the title "Prospects for Black Teachers." Indeed, the literature synthesized in this volume has portrayed a bleak future for the black teacher. However, Dr. Elaine P. Witty, dean of education at Norfolk State University in Virginia, does not believe in giving up hope.

Out of the gloomy statistics and reports, Dr. Witty has compiled a list of recommendations that should be considered before anyone tolls the final bell for black teachers. Dr. Witty counsels the teacher education community--and specifically those in traditionally black colleges and universities--on matters of selection, preparation, certification, and employment of black teachers. She also points out the need for research--and support of research--by and about black teachers. An extensive list of references supports the author's argument.

The Clearinghouse acknowledges with appreciation this contribution to the professional literature about teacher education. Thanks also go to the three content reviewers whose suggestions were useful in producing this ERIC information analyis product.

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PROSPECTS FOR BLACK TEACHERS:

PREPARATION, CERTIFICATION, EMPLOYMENT

The survival of black teachers in America is threatened by a number of distinct yet related factors. As teacher education programs respond to economic pressures and accountability measures, it is predicted that fewer black students will complete high school, be admitted to and graduated from teacher education programs, and be certified to enter the teaching profession. Fewer of those certified will be employed, provided with appropriate inservice education, and given support and opportunities to contribute to the betterment of life for black children specifically and all children in general.

The role of black teachers in America has received little research or discussion in the literature that shapes educational policy and thought. That black teachers have made significant contributions to society is evident: Until the 1954 Brown v. Topeka Board of Education decision, black teachers taught almost all black children who went to school. They also "assumed more than an average amount of leadership and role modeling in black communities" (Hilliard 1980, p. 17).

Arnez (1976) posed a series of questions that illustrates the influence of black teachers on the economic and sociological bases of the black community: Who do black children now view as black authority figures, models, or heroes? Who gives economic stability to black communities? Arnez raised the issue that, "Even with a few more blacks going into business with small business loans, who in the black communities can afford to buy their products?" (p. 275). Calling teaching "the profession blacks may lose," Trammer (1980, p. 69) argued that teaching has been the foundation of the black middle class, and that black teachers have provided necessary role models for black children.

Between 1954 and 1970, many black teachers were dismissed, were placed in teaching positions out of their fields, were given non-teaching, lower-line supervisory positions, or were not hired (Arnez 1976; Butler 1974; Haney 1978; Smith and Smith 1973; Hooker 1970). Many black teachers were transferred to predominantly white schools and "became invisible in their communities and professions," according to Brown.* More recent practices--minimum competency testing for high school graduation, established cut-off scores on standardized tests for admission to teacher education programs, and initial certification screening devices such as the National Teacher Examination and other

*William Crews Brown, Institute for Higher Education Opportunity, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Georgia, 6 January 1982: personal communication.

tests--also threaten the prospects for black teachers in the public schools (James 1980; Mohr 1980; Hilliard 1980; Wright 1980; Penfield 1979).

The problem of black teachers' survival is much more universal than mere job protection. At issue is the quality of education for all children, not just blacks (Hilliard 1980). The absence of a representative number of minority teachers and administrators in a pluralistic society is damaging because it distorts social reality for children. Schools are intended to help children develop their fullest human potential, including their potential to relate to all other human beings in a manner which is free and constructive. To the extent that schools present and perpetuate a prevailing attitude of society that fails to take advantage of all human talent, the growth of every child is stunted.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the issues and problems related to the preparation and survival of black public school teachers in America. The following topics are discussed: (1) underrepresentation of blacks in public schools, (2) selection and preparation of prospective black teachers, (3) certification and the National Teacher Examination, (4) employment and survival of black teachers in the schools, and (5) research related to black teachers. The paper concludes with recommendations about strategies and approaches needed to resolve the issues and problems identified.

Underrepresentation of Blacks in Public Schools

Black teachers compose a smaller percentage of the total educational population today than in the past, and they are less accessible to black children. Although this is a problem, few have written about it.

Ethridge (1979) stands out as the most visible spokesperson about the consequences of the 1954 Brown decision on statistics relating to black educators. The lack of effective data collection during the first 14 years of desegregation will prevent the full influence of the Brown decision from ever being revealed. Ethridge reported that, between 1954 and 1970, at least 31,584 black teachers lost their jobs or teaching positions in the 17 southern and border states. During that period, the education departments in those states allegedly stopped keeping school statistics by race. The only reliable source of racial data on either faculty or students, according to Ethridge, was the Southern Education Reporting Services, which was sponsored by the Ford Foundation. The first hard data on the subject were gathered by a National Education Association Task Force for a survey on teacher displacement under a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Ethridge 1979, pp. 222-3).

Looking at more recent employment statistics, Bosma (1979) analyzed the 1975 Office of Civil Rights data as part of a study for the National Institute of Education. Ethridge's summary of Bosma's findings included the following points about national statistics: (1) Minority teachers (primarily Spanish-speaking) took approximately 40% of the 150,230 new teaching jobs that were added between 1970-71 and 1975-76--the 1972 projections by Ethridge indicated that 210,000 minority teachers were needed. (2) Black teacher employment increased from 9.4% to 10.2% of the teaching population. However, this percentage actually represented a 15% decrease in the actual number of black teachers. (3) Hispanic teacher employment increased from 1.1% to 1.6% of the teaching population. This percentage represented a 79.3% increase since 1972 for a total of 15,000 teachers. The projected number of Hispanic

teachers needed was 85,000. (4) Asian American teacher employment increased by 52.6% and Native American teachers increased by 103.5%, but both percentages represented relatively low numerical gains despite the impressive percentage gains (Ethridge 1979, pp. 229-30).

In terms of statistics from the South, Ethridge's summary of Bosma's analysis showed the following: (1) Approximately 65% of the total increase in white teacher employment between 1970-71 and 1975-76 occurred in the South. (2) The number of white teachers (49,306) employed in the South during this period was more than the total number (48,444) of minority teachers hired nationwide. (3) Despite an increase in the teacher population, the total number of black teachers in Alabama and South Carolina decreased, and the ratio of black to white teachers decreased in Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. The ratio increased in Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas (Ethridge 1979, p. 230).

Employment statistics from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (E.E.O.C.) for elementary and secondary schools show a trend toward reductions in number and percentage of black teachers (see Table 1). In all school positions including principals and service workers, blacks equalled 12.9% in 1975 and 12.3% in 1978. However, employment statisics compiled by the National Education Association (N.E.A.) indicate the opposite trend. Table 2 shows the percentages reported from annual sample surveys of N.E.A. members and other classroom teachers. The increase in the percentage of black teachers in these surveys may result from the use of three groupings (Black, White, Other) instead of the five groupings (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, and American Indian or Alaskan Native) used by the E.E.O.C.

Pupil/Teacher Ratio

During the fall of 1976, the school population totaled 43,713,809 children and youths: 76% were white, 15.5% were black, 6.4% were Hispanic, 1.2% were Asian or Pacific Islander, and 0.08% were American Indian or Alaskan Native (Grant and Eiden 1980, p. 42). Demographic trends among blacks, Hispanics, and whites, which were reported as part of a Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching study of the American high school, showed that minority populations are on the average much younger than the white population, and that more minority households have children in school. Also, fewer whites are attending schools in inner cities. From the same survey, a breakout of high school enrollment by ethnicity in selected cities revealed that in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, blacks made up 22% of the high school enrollment in 1970, but 10 years later, blacks made up 39% of the enrollment. In Miami, blacks comprised 21% and Hispanics another 18% of the 1970 high school enrollment, but in 1980 blacks equalled 25% and Hispanics 38% of the high school students. The 1980 high school enrollment in Los Angeles was 26% black and 32% Hispanic ("Demographic Trends Among Blacks" 1981).

Citing a concern for the relative access of students to teachers of the same race, Bosma (1980a) reported an analysis of pupil/teacher ratios as a basis for comparison and determination of degrees of equity. For example, in Alabama in 1970 there were 24 white students to each white teacher, but 28 black students for each black teacher. In 1976, the ratio for white students to white teachers was 20 to 1; however, the ratio of black students to black teachers was 43 to 1. The degree of access of white students to white teachers had increased while that of blacks had decreased. By 1976, "white

TABLE 1

EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	1975			1978		
	Total	Black	%	Total	Black	%
Elementary teachers	1,004,641	113,848	11.3	903,464	96,724	10.7
Secondary teachers	902,103	74,769	8.3	825,420	67,059	8.1
Other teachers	104,657	20,056	14.3	149,445	17,167	11.5

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1976; 1981).

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS COMPILED BY N.E.A.

U.S. Classroom Teachers	1973	1976	1979	1980
Black	7.5%	8.7%	8.4%	9.7%
White	91.3	89.8	90.2	89.1
Other	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.2

Source: National Education Association (1980).

students were more than twice as likely to have access to teachers of their own group than were black students" (p. 7). Bosma found that "between 1970 and 1976, white access as measured by white pupil/teacher ratio improved in every one of the 17 southern states, while black pupil/teacher ratio got worse in four states--Alabama, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Tennessee" (p. 9).

Bosma established an "equity factor" on the 1976 teacher employment data by determining the number of black teachers who would need to be employed in each state to approximate the average pupil/teacher ratio for the state. The number of people who are missing from the system and who otherwise might be there if all things were equal is referred to as the "displacement factor." In 1970 the displacement factor was 32,896; in 1972 it was 39,386; and in 1976 it had grown to 44,636, which indicates a continuing relative loss of black teachers (Bosma 1980a, p. 10).

The concern of educators about the reductions in number and percentage of black teachers in American schools seems to be justified. Loss of teaching jobs resulting from desegregation has been identified as a major factor.

Others that contribute include expanded employment opportunities for blacks, declining school enrollments, decline in the quality of education for blacks in elementary and high school, and accompanying testing and screening practices for teacher education programs and certification. Brief descriptions of these factors follow.

Expanded Employment Opportunities

More and better job opportunities for women and minorities has contributed to a decline in the proportion of black men and women entering teaching. Likewise, these groups have been encouraged to leave education because of expanding opportunities in business and industry (Schlechty and Vance 1981).

Plain (1972) indicated 10 years ago that career choices for minorities had expanded beyond the traditional areas of teaching, social work, and government service. In explaining recruitment problems, Plain pointed out that minority candidates realize the availability for high-level positions in the professions and other occupations that formerly were closed to them. Ergo, the number of minority candidates available for the teaching profession is reduced.

Declining Enrollment and Seniority Systems

Trammer (1980) argued that declining enrollments and the seniority system used in schools are chipping away at the number of black teachers at a time when they are needed most. In discerning how the seniority system affects employment of black teachers, Trammer found that a preponderance of older teachers who hold only bachelor's degrees effectively clogs the professional stream for younger, more educated applicants. These older teachers prevent the hiring of new black teachers even though the proportion of black pupils has risen.

Using Minneapolis as an example, Trammer reported that the city had closed 17 schools because of enrollment decline since 1975. Another 15 seem likely to be closed by 1985. Meanwhile, the black student population, as a percentage of the student body, is rising. Administrators expect that by 1983 a student body of 40% black students will be taught by a teaching force of which only 10% will be black.

Seniority systems can be challenged, as was the case in Oliver v. Kalamazoo Board of Education (1980). An earlier court had chastised the Kalamazoo, Michigan, school district for unconstitutional segregation and had ordered the hiring of minority teachers to correct the discrimination. After these teachers were hired, enrollment declined and the school board laid off teachers according to the collective bargaining agreement, which provided that furloughs and recalls be made on the basis of seniority. Because of the earlier finding of discrimination, the court in Oliver ordered the school district to recall first all black, tenured teachers. Future recalls, the court said, could be made on the basis of seniority, as long as 20% or more of the teachers recalled in any year were black (Stroup, Van Gieson, and Zirkel 1982).

Declining Quality of Education

The number of black students who enter college and are potential teacher education students is related to the quality of education in kindergarten, elementary, junior high, and high schools. The problems with the quality of education in general have been reported repeatedly. The 1979-80 National Assessment of Reading and Literature, released by the National Assessment of Education Progress (1981), is evidence of the problem. The report revealed that in reading, thinking, and writing, the schools tend to emphasize shallow, superficial opinions at the expense of reasoned, disciplined thought.

Deese (1980) articulated the fears of many black parents that teachers are expecting and requiring less and less of black children. Lower levels of achievement result in fewer black high school graduates, fewer black college students (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy 1976), and a corresponding reduction in the number of black applicants for admission to teacher education programs.

Addressing the dynamics of black students' access to postsecondary education, the National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities (1979a) reported that, in 1977, black high school dropouts between the ages of 18 and 24 exceeded the number of blacks who entered college. Data reported by the National Center for Education Statistics showed that in 1978, 33% of black students between ages 14 to 18 had dropped out of school, while 26.3% of white students had dropped out (Grant and Eiden 1980, p. 66). According to a study by Richardson and Gerlach (1980), black dropouts are more intelligent than their counterparts who remain in school, but the dropouts have lower educational aspirations and less motivation to stay in school.

The National Advisory Committee also reported that black students in secondary schools are suspended more than three times as often as white students and for longer periods of time. The committee also revealed that school officials tend not to encourage black students to participate in college preparatory programs, which results in their being channeled into trade schools and community colleges. This latter form of discrimination also was reported by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978). Fewer black high school graduates who are prepared for college also limits the potential pool of black teacher education students.

Minimum Competency Testing

Minimum competency testing will influence the lives of all children and teachers, but especially black children, black teachers, and black prospective teachers. Representing the thinking of many black educators, Scott (1979) identified minimum competency testing as the newest obstruction to the education of blacks and disadvantaged Americans.

The controversial nature of minimum competency testing was illustrated clearly in the arguments presented at an adversary evaluation hearing sponsored by the National Institute of Education and reported by Thurston and House (1981). Although the value or damage of minimum competency testing is debated by educators, legislators, and parents, 40 states have established some form of minimum competency testing in reading, writing, and mathematics.

A question posed for the adversary hearing was, "Do minimum competency tests unfairly discriminate against racial minorities and bilingual students, or do minimum competency tests serve as neutral measures of basic skills for

which all students ought to be held accountable both for their own good and for that of society?" (Thurston and House 1981, p. 88). Arguing against minimum competency testing for promotion, graduation, resource allocation, and teacher evaluation, Madaus stated:

> We showed that culturally biased items creep into minimum competency tests and that such items have an adverse impact on many students....those most adversely affected by minimum competency tests tend to be students already experiencing academic problems, poor white and minority children, bilingual students, special education students, and students in vocational education. (1981, pp. 93-4)

The performance of blacks as compared to whites on standardized tests has been documented (Coleman and others 1966; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1978), and concern that minimum competency testing may be subject to political influence seems justified (James 1980; Scott 1979).

Another concern about the effects of minimum competency testing on the quality and quantity of teacher education prospects is the potential for testing to lower teachers' expectations of students and to limit the scope and depth of a school's curriculum. This concern is particularly pressing for reading and language arts teachers because theirs are specific areas that competency tests measure (Cooper 1981). Mathematics teachers are another concerned group.

The National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities (1979a) noted that if the current emphasis on student inadequacies is not shifted toward improving student learning experiences, the competency testing movement will be another barrier to black participation in higher education. Teacher education programs for blacks would also be affected. Brown* suggested that factors such as the following deserve more attention: (1) Remediation programs are too inadequate to correct deficiencies revealed by tests; (2) the teaching/learning environment in many schools precludes quality education; (3) tracking systems fence blacks out of meaningful educational experiences and render them unprepared for successful performance on tests.

Selection and Preparation of Black Prospective Teachers

High school graduates face new problems when they decide to pursue teacher education. The black colleges and universities that historically nurtured many black teachers are experiencing drastic changes in faculty, resources, and student bodies; standardized tests increasingly are being used for admission to teacher education programs; and specialized curricular demands are being made in teacher education programs.

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*William Crews Brown, Institute for Higher Education Opportunity, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Georgia, 6 January 1982: personal communication.

Role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities

For many black students, access to higher education has been realized through black colleges and universities. Thirty-seven percent of the baccalaureate degrees awarded to blacks in 1975-76 were from predominantly black colleges and universities (National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities 1979b). The value and role of these institutions and their students has been amply discussed (Bowles and DeCosta 1971; Willie and Edmonds 1978; Gurin and Epps 1975; Mohr 1974.) These colleges and universities produce the largest percentage of the black teachers prepared in teacher education programs. Problems associated with adequate funding and support for the programs also have been documented (Jones 1980).

The need for historically black colleges and universities to be supported and enhanced was reaffirmed by the National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities in the report, Black Colleges and Universities: An Essential Component of a Diverse System of Higher Education (1979b). The report presented an exploration of the implications of institutional diversification and the resulting benefits of diversity for blacks who seek a postsecondary education. Methods for maintaining diversity were identified: (1) to expand institutional options for students of differing abilities and socioeconomic levels, (2) to ensure the viability of institutions that historically have shown and continue to show a commitment to the educational opportunity of low-income and minority students, and (3) to sustain educational environments responsive to the needs of certain racial and ethnic groups (p. 7).

The committee wrote that historically black colleges "provide meaningful points of access and often better odds for retention and attainment for blacks than are currently evident in other institutions with different interests" (p. 72).

Standardized Testing for Admission to Teacher Education

One response to the public demand for accountability in education has been the initiation of additional criteria for admitting students into teacher education programs. Sandefur (1980) reported that by October 1980, 29 states had taken some action relative to competency assessment of teachers for entry into teacher preparation programs, for certification, or for both. A 1981 report of the Southern Regional Education Board showed that in the South, standardized tests used for admission included the Scholastic Aptitude Test (S.A.T.), the American College Test (A.C.T.) and the California Achievement Test (Stolz 1981). The trend continues: New Mexico became the 13th state to require competency tests for admission to teacher education programs ("New Mexico Requires" 1981).

The relationship between S.A.T. scores and parental income of the students taking the test has been documented (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy 1976). Students from low-income families tend to score lower than students from middle- to high-income families. Mitgang (1982) reported a news conference held by Alexander W. Astin on 26 January 1982 at which the findings of a Ford Foundation-sponsored study on higher education for minorities was presented. One of the findings noted that tests such as the S.A.T. are being misused to predict a student's probable success in college. This point supported Boyd's earlier study (1977).

Black colleges and universities rely less on admissions tests than do

white institutions. As a result, black colleges and universities accept many students who are likely to be denied admission by other institutions with higher test-score requirements (Morris 1979).

Teacher education admissions policies that are based on standardized test scores result in the selection of students from high-income families, a disproportionate number of whom are white. Students from low-income families, a disproportionate number of whom are black, are denied admission because of lower test scores. Hence, the number of black teachers continues to decline.

Curriculum for Black Prospective Teachers

To what extent should the teacher education curriculum be specialized to meet the needs of black prospective teachers? Two other questions are related: (1) How can a teacher education curriculum respond to the unique needs of black students and help them overcome educational deficiencies brought from elementary and secondary schools? (2) To what extent should the curriculum seek to equip black prospective teachers with specialized knowledge, perspectives, and skills that they need for survival in the teaching profession?

A Task Force on Higher Education and the Schools (1981) of the Southern Regional Education Board (S.R.E.B.) put forth the position that simply denying underprepared black students admission into teacher education programs is not an adequate response to the commitment to quality for the 1980s. The task force suggested that a permanent solution must involve curricular reform in both secondary schools and colleges. The reforms should require intensified communication and quantitative coursework. The task force pointed out that the success of such reform depends to a considerable degree on an adequate supply of highly qualified black teachers. To satisfy this goal, the task force noted that incentives are needed to attract into teacher education programs black students who are high achievers.

The need for more appropriate guidance and counseling for prospective black teacher education students and better cooperation between secondary schools and traditionally black colleges was highlighted by James (1980), Hilliard (1980), and Atkinson (1980). Specific recommendations offered by Atkinson (p. 42) include: (1) counseling services that help high school students to make college and career choices, (2) more extensive support programs for minority students in high school, (3) expanded college and university outreach programs aimed at recruiting students who otherwise would not consider college, and (4) cooperative programs between high schools and community colleges to expose minority students to the college experience.

Powell (1975) echoed the thoughts of many black educators in stating that black colleges train the majority of the prospective black teachers and must rally to correct the language deficiencies of many black high school graduates who enroll in college. Black college reading and communication programs, according to Powell, must be laboratories for changing these students' speaking, reading, listening, and writing skills.

Seeking to provide the impetus for a forum to review and reform teacher education programs in black colleges and universities, the S.R.E.B. Institute for Higher Education Opportunity worked with a committee of black educators to sponsor annual conferences from 1971 to 1975. In December 1971, the conference drew together 81 representatives from 41 traditionally black colleges and universities to discuss the role of such institutions in the preparation of teachers. Of the participants' recommendations, the following

nine related to teacher education curricula: (1) goals and directions focusing on the uniqueness of black institutions, (2) expanded professional laboratory experiences, (3) seminars in human relations, (4) student involvement in curricular revisions, (5) selection of highly trained college teachers who are sensitive to the special needs of the students, (6) greater use of community resources, (7) increased involvement of college teachers in the black community, (8) better provisions for addressing educational deficiencies of entering students, and (9) expanded attention to the use of paraprofessionals (Cary and Mohr 1972). Conferences held between 1971 and 1980 did not address the topic of teacher education curricula.

In 1980, Norfolk State University initiated a conference series to carry on the dialogue from the S.R.E.B.-sponsored conferences. Eighty-seven black teacher educators from 19 states participated in the first conference, which included papers presented by five scholars and small group sessions led by five black educators. One group discussed "Specializing the Curriculum: General Studies and Basic Skills for Black Prospective Teachers," and recommended the following: (1) In addition to the traditional general studies, emphasis needs to be given to positive self-concepts, interpersonal skills, positive attitudes toward education, basic reading skills, test-taking skills, problem-solving abilities, and analytical skills. (2) All basic skills programs should (a) have interinstitutional commitment, (b) provide for individual and personal approaches, (c) include an effective counseling component, (d) use assessment measures including standardized tests and teacher evaluations of students, and (e) use technological resources. (3) The entire curriculum should incorporate general studies (Barnett 1980).

From a three-year study of an all-black elementary school in a large, midwestern city, Rist (1972) identified several curricular areas necessary for teachers who work with black children; the first is Black American English. Rist stated, "One can only anticipate that the readily evident difficulties in communication between teacher and black student will occur especially in those circumstances where the teacher speaks Standard American English in the classroom and the students use only Black American English" (p. 630). Bi-dialectical instruction is supported by such organizations as the National Council of Teachers of English, the Modern Languages Association of America, and the Center for Applied Linguistics. Colleges are experimenting with this curricular area (Mohr 1975; Shanker 1973).

According to Rist, the second academic area in which white as well as black teachers need competence is Afro-American history. Rist asserted that teachers will continue to evaluate black children erroneously as long as they have little or no understanding of the social and historical backgrounds by which to interpret the present position of black people in America. In early studies of curricula for black teachers, Caliver (1933) and Colson (1940) also reported the need to include Afro-American history in the curriculum.

Third, Rist recommended that teachers receive information and training in how to make the most effective use of paraprofessionals. Cary and Mohr (1972) also noted this need.

Rist also pointed out the need for teachers to halt the "ideology of failure" regarding the performance of black children. Teachers need to be aware of the potential ramifications of their participation in the institution of public education; that is, the act of deciding who is or is not going to make it in the schools is a political process.

Certification and the National Teacher Examination

Black prospective teachers who are successful in entering and completing accredited teacher education programs again find that a new set of problems is imposed as they seek to enter and survive in the teaching profession. These include initial certification, employment, and special demands of schools and communities.

For initial certification, many states require candidates to pass some kind of objective test with a predetermined cut-off score. According to Vlaanderen (1981), 18 states have adopted the requirement of a test for certification. These states and the year for enforcement are: Alabama, 1981; Arizona, 1980; Arkansas, 1983; California, 1982; Colorado, 1983; Florida, 1980; Georgia, 1978; Louisiana, 1979; Mississippi, 1972; New Mexico, 1983; New York, 1984; North Carolina, 1981; Oklahoma, 1982; South Carolina, 1982; Tennessee, 1981; Texas, not set; Virginia, 1980; and West Virginia, 1964. As intended, this approach to certification denies some teacher education graduates entry into the profession. The concern is that black prospective teachers will be disproportionately represented among those denied certification.

Although research has not answered the questions of how significant a test of cognitive knowledge, such as the National Teacher Examination (N.T.E.), is to teaching performance (Quirk, Witten, and Weinberg 1973), in U.S. v. State of South Carolina (1977), the Supreme Court ruled that a state may hire and pay teachers on the basis of a standardized test--in this case, the N.T.E. (McDaniel 1977). The ruling gave impetus to other states to require N.T.E. scores for initial teacher certification. In addition to South Carolina, seven other states--Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina (changing to state-developed test), Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia--require the N.T.E. for certification (Vlaanderen 1981). Approximately 100 school districts use N.T.E. scores when making decisions about hiring. "In all, 79,000 students in 30 states took some part of the N.T.E. in 1979-80" (Toch 1981, p. 9).

Medley and Quirk (1974) demonstrated that the N.T.E. has the potential for measuring a candidate's racial background with considerable accuracy. They reported a series of N.T.E. studies about the relationship between the cultural content of general test items and the performance of blacks and whites on experimental "black" and "modern" items. The report showed that changing 65 traditional items on the N.T.E. Common Examinations to 65 "black" items would increase the blacks' scores relative to the whites' scores more than 27 percent.

In discussing the finding that the N.T.E. has the potential to discriminate on the basis of race, Medley and Quirk stated, "In the absence of evidence that white candidates make better teachers than black ones, or that teachers who know the traditional culture are better teachers than those who know the black culture, it is difficult to justify such a bias" (p. 244).

Bosma (1980b) reported that Florida's use of N.T.E. scores to dismiss black teachers was discussed in a 1965 N.E.A. study of teacher displacement. The exclusive use of the N.T.E. as a basis on which to deny certification is still a pressing topic for discussion.

From an analysis comparing black performance to national--mainly white--performance on the N.T.E. Common Examinations (conducted by Betty Humphry of the Educational Testing Service), Wright (1980b, pp. 66-7) reported that blacks' poorest performance was in mathematics, their second poorest

performance was in literature and fine arts, and their third poorest performance was in science. In professional education, their poorest performance was in pupil background, evaluation, measurement and statistical concepts, and instructional theory and practice. The literature indicates that black educators want to strengthen the skills of black prospective teachers so that they can perform adequately on the N.T.E.

The Educational Testing Service is revising the N.T.E. and plans to have the new examinations ready for use in November 1982 (Educational Testing Service 1981). The new N.T.E. will replace the current Common Examinations with an expanded comprehensive knowledge examination that will include communication skills. The general education and professional tests will emphasize classroom and problem-solving skills. N.T.E. program director William C. Harris said that "the new tests will be easier to use as an entrance examination and for diagnostic purposes than the current test" (Toch 1981, p. 9). The new examination will include three sections that may be given separately or together to sophomores, juniors, or seniors.

Whether the revisions will make the examinations more defensible against charges of cultural bias will be of interest to many educators. It seems likely that the revisions will encourage increased testing of prospective teachers.

The literature suggests that assessments using state-developed tests also warrant concern. For example, the scores for Alabama's teacher certification assessment showed that 76% of the candidates who took the test in August 1981 passed the "basic professional studies" test ("Alabama May Link" 1981). Of the black candidates who took the test, 43% passed while 81% of the white students passed. Comparisons of the data by university showed that 96% of the candidates from Auburn University passed the test, while 14% of the candidates at Alabama State University passed (Education Commission of the States 1981).

Employment and Survival in the Schools

Inequity in employment in some school systems is a continuing problem for prospective black teachers. The special assistant for N.E.A.'s DuShane Emergency Fund depicted the problem as follows:

> As dual school systems were disestablished under H.E.W. desegregation plans or court orders, the jobs of thousands of black teachers and administrators were threatened or eliminated. Adverse administrative actions allegedly taken on the basis of race include demotion, nonrenewal, dismissal, salary cuts, and reassignment to positions with fewer responsibilities. (Sinowitz 1973, p. 32)

Reutter and Hamilton (1976, pp. 630-2) cited three court cases involving black teachers that established principles for protection from overt discrimination: Chambers v. Hendersonville City Board of Education, 1968; Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate District, 1970; Clark v. Board of Education of Little Rock School District, 1972. However, evidence of problems with employment discrimination was found in more recent cases (U.S. Supreme Court 1977, 1978).

Discussing the gap between desegregation research and remedy, Smith and Dziuban wrote:

> Discriminatory staffing patterns can frequently be observed in today's legally desegregated schools. Generally, the administrative staff and school board do not reflect the racial composition of the school population. Similar trends are evident for support personnel and teachers. (1977, p. 53)

They further reported that black professionals are often employed on a contingency basis. For example, they may be hired for administrative positions that have no power, or they may be hired "solely to control black students and placate the black community" (p. 53). In addition, black teachers are disproportionately represented in special remedial classes, federally funded projects, and assignments outside the realms of their certification. Difficulty with efforts to remedy past discrimination against black teachers was noted by a number of other writers, and Ayres (1975) expressed concern for employing teachers on the basis of racial quotas.

Black teachers who remain in the teaching profession face barriers to promotion and advancement to supervisory and administrative positions. Black teachers are far more interested in leadership roles than usually is assumed (Besag 1970), but they believe that they have less opportunity for advancement than white teachers (Griffith 1980). This belief, supported by observations of the number of blacks in meaningful administrative positions, serves as an effective barrier.

Special Demands on Black Teachers

The literature indicates that black teachers who succeed in gaining employment find that they are expected to become repositories for specialized knowledge about black children and their families. The black community expects black teachers to serve as advocates for black children at the same time that the number of black role models in teaching and administration is continuously declining.

Suggestions that black teachers should be prepared to serve as advocates for black children were put forth by several writers, such as Wilcox (1969) and Pinkney (1980). Given their personal experiences as minorities in the educational system, black teachers are expected to bring to their work with black children special skills, knowledge, and insights. They are expected to write books and teaching materials dealing with life in their culture and environment. They are expected to join in the research and testing efforts needed to improve the teaching of basic skills in the early grades (Clark 1980; Hilliard 1980; Spencer 1975). In addition to mastery of academic content to be taught and mastery of generic teaching competencies such as those identified by Lindsey (1978), Smith (1980), and Denemark and Nutter (1980), black teachers are expected to have special sustaining and change agent skills.

Black teachers are expected to help their professional colleagues eradicate traditional myths and half-truths in reference to black students. Pinkney (1980) emphasized that particular attention should be given to the following misconceptions: (1) Black parents and children do not care about education; (2) black children are generally unable and innately inferior; (3) black children are nonverbal; (4) black children who speak Black English do not desire to communicate effectively in Standard English.

Another advocacy role for black teachers is the expectation to be professional role models in working effectively with black children. Special

attention in preparation programs, according to Pinkney (1980), should be given to: (1) skills in behavioral sciences relating to attitudes toward black children and expectations which free the children for unlimited achievement; (2) skills in individualized instruction which are needed for all children but are specifically needed by black children; (3) skills in understanding cultural backgrounds; and (4) skills in student motivation.

Pinkney's position is upheld in the literature documenting that teachers interact differently with students they perceive as high and low achievers (Braun 1976; Cooper 1979; Dusek 1975; Good 1979; Good, Cooper, and Blakey 1980; West and Anderson 1976). The research demonstrates that high achievers have more favorable interactions with teachers than do low achievers. However, Beady (1980) reported that differences between black and white teachers' expectations of student achievement were found only in the area of expectations for college success when teacher characteristics other than race were controlled. The ideology of failure (Rist 1970) and the pedagogical politics of failure (Cummings 1977) surrounding the expectations of black children's performance in inner city schools further support the need for teachers to be advocates.

Campbell (1970) argued that black teachers must protect black children against educational injustices. Regarding leadership and the necessary skills, Campbell asserted that black teachers cannot bring these skills to the black community "like a stranger bearing gifts." Black teachers, according to Campbell, must identify with and speak the language of the black community if they are to represent it.

Rist (1972) suggested that the ennui of teachers in a school which he studied could be summarized in two propositions: (1) The teachers assumed that the children were uninterested and unmotivated to learn, and (2) the teachers perceived themselves as powerless to do anything about it.

Strong support systems for black teachers in public schools--that is, networks and black role models in administrative positions--are scarce. During the adjustment period following the first efforts toward integration, the number of black principals was significantly reduced. By 1975, it was estimated that 2,235 black principals had been displaced in the 17 southern and border states because of integration (Ethridge 1979). In 1975, black principals made up 8% of the total population of principals; by 1978, that percentage had increased only to 8.3% (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 1981). (See Table 3.)

The need for strong, black education organizations to coordinate teacher educators, teachers, and the various agencies has been highlighted in recent years as a way to reduce the vulnerability of black teachers and to improve the quality of life for black children (Hilliard 1980; James 1980; Barnett 1980; Blake 1978). In addition, the support of integrated professional organizations is also important to the success of black teachers. Schultz (1970) detailed the successful effort to integrate the N.E.A. in the National Education Association and the Black Teacher.

Black teachers also need support from other school personnel if they are to meet the special demands placed on them. Guidance counselors, psychologists, librarians, and consultants are potential helpmates. Because these positions are staffed in patterns similar to teachers and principals (see Table 3), again, the networks and role models are limited.

Finally, Brown* stressed the importance of parental support when he wrote, "Black teachers and administrators are extremely limited in what they can do to protect the black student from the evils of the system unless they enjoy the political clout their parents can bring to bear."

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATION RATES (PERCENTAGE)

OF FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

	1975	1978
Black Percent of Total	12.9%	12.3%
Officials/Administrators/Managers	5.5	6.4
Principals	8.0	8.3
Assistant Principals, Teaching	12.6	9.8
Assistant Principals, Non-Teaching	15.6	15.6
Guidance	10.7	10.3
Psychological	5.0	5.2
Library/Audiovisual	9.4	9.1
Consultants/Supervisors of Instruction	11.7	12.1
Other Professionals	12.5	12.1
Teacher Aids	23.0	20.3
Technicians	14.7	12.2
Clerical/Secretarial	7.8	7.8
Service Workers	21.7	20.8
Skilled Craft	11.6	10.4
Laborers	19.7	21.5

Source: The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1976; 1981).

Research Related to Black Teachers

The paucity of research about black teachers is lamentable (Wright 1979; Bacon 1974), because it is more difficult to make decisions and design teacher education programs without a definitive, conceptual framework.

Historically, black teacher educators and the black community in general have not exerted sufficient pressure to intervene in decisions that shape educational policy and curriculum development. Questions such as who should be taught what and how are crucial to the educational opportunities for black children and youths, and the answers to such questions are based on community and societal pressure, tradition, politics, economic resources, and educational and sociological research. Black teacher educators historically

*William Crews Brown, Institute for Higher Education Opportunity, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Georgia, 6 January 1982: personal communication.

have not held sufficient power to safeguard the welfare and opportunities of black children and youths. Because the educational system responds to economic, political, and sociological pressures (and trends indicate that fewer resources will be available for schooling in the 1980s), black educators are insisting on a voice in deciding matters central to the education of blacks (James 1980).

Research Questions about Black Teachers

Glaringly missing from the literature is current research on black teachers. Early exceptions were dissertations by McAllister (1929), Caliver (1933), Gore (1940), Colson (1940), and Harris (1941), and a more recent book, Black Teachers in Urban Schools: The Case of Washington, D.C. by Silver (1973).

During the late 1960s, several studies were reported that dealt with the social and emotional stress experienced by black teachers as a result of desegregation (Simons 1967; Clark 1967; Torrence 1966). However, questions remain largely unanswered on how many black teachers survived early integration attempts; what strategies teachers used to win acceptance by children, parents, and other teachers; and what criteria were used to assign teachers. As black teachers attempted to serve as solace, role model, and comforter to black children, what happened to their self-concepts, skills, hopes, and aspirations? How did they perceive the role of teacher in unfriendly schools?

Careful study reveals some reports on the problems and successes that black children experienced (Rist 1978; Cummings 1977), but the problems and successes of black teachers are missing from the literature. Research on the role of teachers in general during the desegregation movement is scarce (Bosma 1980b). Dworkin noted that the use of "race as an independent variable in studies of the social characteristics and values of teachers is relatively infrequent" (1980, p. 66).

To what extent do black teachers today experience uncertainty and ambivalence about their roles as perceived by black students? The concerns of humanist teachers have been described (Alexander 1974; Parker 1975; Wright 1981). The following statement illustrates the the teacher's problem:

> To students who categorically reject all literature that is not "uniquely black" he has to make a strong case for the irrelevant. In so doing, he must make clear to his students that he cannot renege on his obligation to provide them with the skills needed to read and analyze literature intelligently. In addition, however, he is obligated to help his students understand that such skills are indeed relevant to them and can lead to an increased appreciation for and celebration of the black experience. But most significant, the study of literature of all types can ultimately aid them in that search for identity which is so important in their young lives. (Wright 1981, p. 98)

To what extent is the concern general? In their survey of more than 3,000 black male and female educators working in predominantly white colleges and universities, Moore and Wagstaff (1974) found that the majority of these individuals experience a strong sense of alienation. Later, Moore reported that black educators employed in the two-year college academic community

experience social isolation: "Black educators say they share few social or professional activities with their immediate white colleagues" (1976, p. 41). Rafky (1972), Johnson (1974), Smith (1975), and Fridie (1975) found similar problems.

If professional isolation was the case in 1976, to what extent is it true today regarding black teachers in school systems where they are isolated from the black community? What is the extent of psychological damage to black teachers who serve as minorities in isolated school settings? Is psychological energy, which should be used in teaching, being consumed in justifying qualifications and fending off discriminatory actions? Do black teachers feel victimized and have poor opinions of themselves? Other questions that disturb black educators but for which research is limited include the following:

1. How do black parents perceive black teachers? White parents?
2. What problems are associated with trying to serve as role models in situations where leadership positions are denied?
3. What are the effects of social and economic deprivation on the educational achievements of black teachers?
4. How do black teachers who perform well on standardized tests differ from those who do not?
5. Is there a difference in the performance of black teachers and white teachers in assessment programs such as the Georgia Teacher Performance Assessment Program?
6. Do children taught by black teachers who make high scores on standardized tests achieve more than children taught by teachers who make low scores on standardized tests?
7. To what extent are black teachers satisfied with their jobs?
8. Do black teachers have a different concept of themselves in a district that has collective bargaining than in a district that does not?
9. How do black teachers value the teaching profession?
10. Do differences in the values of black teachers and white teachers (Lemlech and Sikula 1976) exist at all instructional levels and in different types of school settings?
11. What are the strengths of black teachers?

Need for Black Perspective in Educational Research

There is a need for a black perspective in research in teacher preparation and assessment (James 1980; Spencer 1975; Wright 1979). In discussing the importance of research by blacks on questions of educational policy affecting blacks, Wright cautioned that the majority of studies affecting blacks in America were conducted by white social scientists and educators. The Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, supported in part by the Ford Foundation, and the Institute for Services to Education stand alone as black agencies or organizations with funding of any note for research. (Wright 1979).

The problem, according to Wright, is that the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the studies done by whites have tended to be taken as pure, objective truth, although pure objectivity does not exist in social science or education research. Wright maintained that crucial elements in social science research are influenced, if not determined, by the researcher's concerns, prejudices, biases, and beliefs. Such elements include (1) the choice of

problems to be investigated, (2) the ways that problems are stated, (3) the hypotheses selected to be tested, (4) the basic assumptions made, (5) the choice of and weights given to the evidence collected and analyzed, (6) the ways that the facts are interpreted, (7) the inferences that may be drawn, and (8) the recommendations that may be made.

Admitting that black social scientists and educators also bring their concerns, preconceptions, biases, and beliefs to research on questions of public policy relating to the education of blacks, Wright asserted that they might bring very different preconceptions and perspectives and more sensitive backgrounds to the total research effort. In addition, they might bring different insights and perhaps different interpretations of the data and different recommendations for dealing with educational problems that confront blacks.

Synthesizing the themes discussed at an invitational conference called as a part of an 18-month National Institute for Education planning grant, "Designing a Research and Development Agenda in Teacher Education," Hall reported the following:

> Women and Minorities. Important both to research and to practice in teacher education is the involvement of women and minorities as researchers and practitioners. Their involvement is a cornerstone of the pluralism that must be fully considered in future research and development efforts.
> Multicultural Dimensions. Teachers and teacher educators come from and work with different cultures. Multicultural aspects of teacher education are clearly in need of research. Those dimensions must be reflected, whenever appropriate, in the design of research studies and in teacher education practice. (1979, p. 11-12)

According to Boyer (1979), "the essentials of multiculturalism in research include" (1) different ways of looking at research design, (2) greater emphasis on research topics that "analyze the institutions in which teachers are prepared," and (3) use of theoretical constructs that incorporate all dimensions of social and academic relationships and that employ desegregation, affirmative action, equal employment opportunities, and other factors.

Some writers indicated a special need for a black perspective when identifying topics for research. Beard (1974) commented on the need to restructure public education, while Spencer (1975) brought up questions related to testing and the use of tests.

Training in Research Skills

Black institutions of higher education traditionally have committed a major part of their resources to teaching and to service. Research has not claimed sufficient attention. Reasons cited for the paucity of research by blacks include the following, according to Wright (1979): (1) Only a small number of blacks are adequately trained in social sciences research, and many of those with the necessary training have not found rewarding careers in the field of educational research. (2) Role models and mentors in the training of black researchers are missing. (3) Most black educators in higher education are located at black colleges and universities where work conditions include heavy teaching loads, little or no released time for research, and little

emphasis on research as a criterion for promotion in salary or rank. (4) Funding is inadequate for research by blacks on questions relating to the educational needs of blacks. (5) Blacks have been excluded systematically from making educational policy and this exclusion has discouraged scholarly inquiry into research on issues and problems relating to blacks. (6) Publishing sources are limited for blacks who conduct scholarly inquiry into policy related to the educational needs of blacks. Fikes (1978) also had reported this last point.

Viewing education and politics as inseparable, Moody (1974) pointed out the need for research programs to be designed to provide baseline data for the subsequent training of black educators who can anticipate problems and formulate, modify, and analyze educational policies to solve the problems. A common concern also appearing in the literature is the need for black teachers to be taught to view teaching from a scientific approach and to be data collectors as well as teachers (Hilliard 1980; James 1980; Spencer 1975).

Success Stories of Black Teachers

Examples of black teachers' success stories are scarce in the literature, although, obviously, many black teachers have had successful teaching experiences. During the days of segregated schools, black teachers successfully taught many black children. Hilliard pointed out that the

> research community has no knowledge at all of Septima Clark and the freedom schools in 11 southern states where 12 million black voters were taught to read....Nor do they know of the schools today which are pockets of excellence for teaching black children who are said by some to have been beyond hope. (1980, p. 13)

Among the few to describe the contributions of black teachers, West (1979) traced the course of three northern black teachers who moved to the South during reconstruction. In another biography, Coursey (1974) described the successful career of Anita J. Turner, a black female physical education teacher. Although West and Coursey's works show the unique contributions of black teachers, they are historical rather than current. One of the few examples of present day successful black teachers to be found in the literature is a brief report on Joan Yvonne Polite, a successful black elementary education teacher (Clayton 1979).

Recommendations and Summary

This review of the literature related to the black teacher in America reveals a number of recommendations and suggestions for strategies to resolve the issues associated with their preparation and survival. The underlying purpose of these recommendations is to improve the educational opportunities for all children and to expand the opportunities for all persons to develop and share their talents and abilities.

Recommendations were found that have implications for the wider educational community but, overwhelmingly, the recommendations are aimed at traditionally black colleges and universities. These still prepare the majority of the black teacher education graduates.

General Recommendations

1. That school systems reduce the disparity in equal access to teachers of the same race by employing black teachers in sufficient numbers to make the ratio of black teachers to black children equal to the ratio of white teachers to white children.

2. That professional organizations and/or educational agencies establish procedures for joint publication and dissemination of information and research data on black teachers.

3. That public school systems and institutions of higher education identify a cadre of black researchers in education and provide support for research and for dissemination of their work.

4. That governmental agencies, private foundations, and businesses reexamine their grant patterns and procedures with respect to equity and fairness where research related to the education of blacks is concerned (Wright 1979; Clark 1980).

5. That action be initiated to assure fair representation of blacks on the administrative staffs, boards, task forces, committees, and commissions that make and administer educational policies (Wright 1979; James 1980).

6. That publishers and editors of educational books and journals be encouraged to recognize that research by blacks on the educational problems and successes of blacks is important not only to blacks but also to the nation as a whole, and that it warrants equitable treatment in the literature that influences and shapes educational thought and policy (Wright 1979; Clark 1980).

7. That schools, colleges, and educational agencies develop admission policies that are racially neutral and that test results be used after admission to diagnose applicants' strengths, weaknesses, and interests and to guide program development for each student.

8. That black parents and black community organizations identify the education of black children as a goal of the highest priority and provide support for the schools to realize that goal.

Recommendations for Selection and Preparation of Black Teachers

1. That predominantly black colleges and universities launch an organized effort to forge partnerships with elementary and secondary schools to improve the quality of educational experiences and to reduce the rate of attrition among black students who make up the pool of potential teachers (James 1980).

2. That improved counseling services and college-experience motivational programs be provided for black high school students (Atkinson 1980).

3. That traditionally black teacher education programs develop support systems for recruiting academically able black students and for improving their retention rates (Wynn 1980).

4. That teacher education programs provide special curricular experiences in general education and in basic skills for prospective teachers in need of extra assistance (Barnett 1980).

5. That a network of black leaders in teaching and teacher education be established and meet regularly to address issues, problems, and successes related to the teacher education curriculum in predominantly black colleges and universities (Barnett 1980; James 1980).

6. That teacher education curricula in predominantly black colleges and universities provide students with broad experiences in test taking, test analysis, test administration, and related topics (James 1980).

7. That teacher education curricula include emphasis on technology and current issues in general education components (Johnson 1972; Atkinson 1980).

8. That opportunities be provided for black teacher education students to develop special skills needed for performing advocacy roles for black children (Pinkney 1980).

9. That the curriculum for black prospective teachers include a strong emphasis on developing analytical skills and on reading speed and comprehension (Wright 1980).

10. That teacher educators in predominantly black colleges and universities expand the professional education component to include emphasis on the teacher's self-concept (Martin 1980).

11. That the study of the nature of organizations and the school as an organization be included in curricula to assist black teachers in serving as change agents and advocates for black children.

12. That care be taken to ensure that predominantly black colleges and universities are not programmed alike but that the uniqueness of each is preserved (Martin 1980).

Recommendations for Certification and Employment of Black Teachers

1. That a coalition of black educators be organized to address the issues associated with black children and to function as their advocates (Clark 1980; Blake 1978).

2. That teacher educators in predominantly black colleges and universities and black teachers in the schools work cooperatively to provide greater representation of blacks and minority groups at the policy-making levels in education and on local, state, and national committees, boards, and commissions (Jones 1980).

3. That black teachers and teacher educators in predominantly black colleges and universities develop collaborative strategies for securing political support for state and federal funding and for seeking assistance through churches, clubs, businesses, alumni, and foundations (Jones 1980).

4. That black administrators and teachers develop a strong political base and model a more politically aware behavior for black prospective teachers and establish a systematic procedure for involving graduates in lobbying for favorable political actions (Lang 1980; Martin 1980).

5. That traditionally black colleges and universities collaborate with community agencies and organizations in strengthening the educational opportunities for black students and teachers (Lang 1980; Clark 1980).

Recommendations for Research by and about Black Teachers

1. That statistics be compiled on the number of black teachers dismissed since 1970.

2. That data be collected about the effect on black students of using cut-off scores on standardized tests (such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the American College Test) for admission to teacher education programs.

3. That studies of the influence of seniority policies on the employment of black teachers be conducted.

4. That support be given to black teachers to assist in research about the speech, developmental patterns, and socialization of the black child (Hilliard 1980).

5. That success stories about black teachers be researched and shared in the professional literature (Hilliard 1980).

6. That data be collected to determine whether teachers who earn high scores on the National Teacher Examination experience greater success with pupils in academic and social achievements.

7. That a center for the study of black teachers and teacher education be established at a predominantly black university (James 1980; Wright 1979).

8. That black colleges and universities collect and analyze data relating to the achievement of black applicants on the National Teacher Examination and other instruments used to determine eligibility for teacher certification.

9. That schools and departments of education in predominantly black schools strengthen their activities in research and development (Barnett 1980).

10. That funds be provided to develop and institute procedures for increasing and enhancing the research skills of faculty members at traditionally black colleges and universities (Clark 1980; Wright 1979).

11. That peer review teams be established at predominantly black colleges and universities to provide support for faculty research (Clark 1980).

Summary

This monograph has identified a number of related factors that affect the preparation and survival of black school teachers in America, and that deserve the attention of educators, educational policy-makers, and the general public. These factors, which include the move toward minimum competency testing of high school students, the use of standardized tests for admission to and exit from teacher education programs and for initial teacher certification, the lack of adequate on-the-job support for black teachers, and the scarcity of a black perspective in educational research--especially about black teachers--threaten the prospects for a viable presence of black teachers in America's schools. Discussion of these topics is followed by a lengthy list of recommendations to improve these prospects.

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